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A culture of blame – Sunday School teachers, youth workers and the decline of young people in churches

Naomi Stanton

When the Sunday School pioneers saw a need in their communities in the late eighteenth century, their response gave rise to a 200 year movement, the remnants of which still exist today. Robert Raikes, disputed founder of the first Sunday Schools in 1780 (but certainly one of the early pioneers), found that the young people in his Gloucestershire community were lacking in basic education and the community did not like these young people 'hanging around' on the streets on Sundays, their day off from work.¹ The early Sunday Schools met a clear social need and they were a lay movement not attached to specific churches.² Young people met in the homes of their teachers on Sunday afternoons.³ However, by the twentieth century, Sunday Schools were highly-structured, centralised and attached to churches and Unions, with their original purpose made redundant by the growth of mainstream education. They faced rapid decline in the 1960s; a rigid institution amidst societal change.

Over recent decades, Christian youth work has emerged as a response to youth decline within churches. Many youth workers engage with young people's self-identifiable needs by delivering open access youth provision in their local communities alongside more specifically-Christian activities. Tensions emerge over whether the youth worker's role is to serve community or church needs, with churches often emphasising the desire to see young people in services. This echoes the discourse of Sunday Schooling where religious education and church membership became prioritised at the expense of social need.

This article considers the criticism of Sunday School teachers during the twentieth century by both churches and Sunday School Unions. Sunday Schools had their peak in attendance in the early 1900s and the blame for the lack of young people in church was laid at the feet of the teachers who were successfully engaging them, usually on a Sunday afternoon. As the century progressed, Sunday Schools did decline and faced their most crucial downfall during the 1960s. The 1950s and 60s were also when, on a national scale, churches moved their Sunday Schools from the afternoon to the morning to fit with church service times; a move entirely premised on the needs of the church rather than of those they were serving. This internal factor is often ignored in talk of Sunday School decline in the 1960s as families, and even teachers, are viewed as having been drawn away from church by external distractions.

In the post Sunday School era, youth work is the most comparable form of church outreach to young people. There are echoes of the criticism thrown at Sunday School teachers levelled at these youth workers when young people are not in Sunday services. This article draws on my research into Sunday Schools in the 1900-10 and 1955-72 periods as well as my research into Christian youth work today. It considers how the criticism of Sunday School teachers and youth workers both distracts churches from considering the reasons why church is not welcoming or accessible to young people and serves to destroy the enthusiasm of those who are successfully engaging young people.

Rise of the Sunday School Unions

The Sunday School Union was started in London in 1803 to encourage teachers to communicate with each other, improve methods, and support the opening of new

schools.⁴ The Union was set up by teachers for teachers and remained largely a Non-Conformist organisation. Local auxiliaries began to emerge in and around London in the years after it was formed, eventually spreading throughout the country.⁵ These became local Unions affiliated to the now termed 'National Sunday School Union' (NSSU). In its early years, the Union's 'limited financial needs were met primarily through annual sermons' that invited donations to support Sunday School work.⁶ From 1811, it was financed primarily through sales of books and materials, with some additional money raised through donations and legacies. However, throughout the nineteenth century it became larger and more authoritarian, with numerous committees and several buildings and premises. During the twentieth century, there were increasingly desperate calls for fundraising and individual schools now paid a subscription to their local Union who in turn paid fees to the NSSU.

Nineteenth century centralisation of Sunday Schools

Historian, Simon Green argues that 'attendance at Sunday school was a norm of life' in the nineteenth century.⁷ He recognises the many welfare, social and recreational services offered by Sunday Schools alongside their Sunday provision. However the lay-controlled movement faced criticism from clergy, who claimed it was valued by the general public as a cheap form of secular rather than religious education.⁸

Several historians have acknowledged the purposeful linking of Sunday Schools to churches and Unions in the nineteenth century.⁹ This attachment marked a shift in objectives, particularly because the number of children becoming church members after graduating from Sunday School became a measure of their success. Alongside this move towards tighter church control over Sunday Schools, came a purposeful

centralisation of schools in relation to Unions.¹⁰ The effect of the increased authoritarian control over Sunday School methods led to moves towards teaching religious observance and catechisms, and following standardised curricula.¹¹

Sunday School Decline

Sunday Schools had their peak of attendance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹² At the turn of the century, the NSSU recorded 'steady and continued activities', and had over 15,000 Sunday schools affiliated to it, with over 200,000 teachers and over 2,000,000 scholars (including its colonial schools).¹³ Over the first few years of the twentieth century, these numbers continued to grow.¹⁴

By 1962, the NSSU reported a decline in scholars of around three quarters to 577,889. By this point, the Union appears to have been just serving England and Wales.¹⁵ Despite peaks and troughs earlier in the century, Sunday Schools declined heavily in the 1960s and from this point there was steady decline without even temporary recovery. By 1972, when records ceased to be collected, the number of scholars affiliated to the NSSU had declined by more than half in ten years to 272,258.¹⁶

Popular opinion in the twentieth century referred to increasing mobility and leisure opportunities provided elsewhere for young people on Sundays, as well as the decline of religious belief and practice more generally as largely responsible for waning attendance at Sunday School.¹⁷ This focus on the role of factors that were *external* may have distracted churches from considering the *internal* factors in Sunday School decline. In particular, that the centralisation of Sunday Schools led to a division between decisions about Sunday School organisation and the needs of

those whom it served. This meant that changes in method and structure of provision, and a move away from meeting social need, were implemented in the twentieth century without any consideration of the preferences of children, young people and their families.

Those considering Sunday School decline in the twentieth century regularly pointed to a diminishing quality of teaching and the reluctance of teachers to engage in training as significant factors in decline. Local records of the East Herts and Birmingham Unions in the early twentieth century reflect this concern regarding the education of Sunday School teachers calling for more of them to undertake qualifications specific to the role.¹⁸ Green, in his study of Yorkshire religion, suggests that in the late nineteenth century, the failure to recruit young people into adult membership of the church and the increasing decline within the senior Sunday School groups was attributed to 'the quality of the teaching, the attitude of the ministry, and the nature of senior classes'.¹⁹ The preoccupation with the training of Sunday School teachers continued into the twentieth century.

Calls for change - from Sunday School to 'Family Church'

Those considering Sunday Schools in the early twentieth century appear to have been aware of a need to deformatise their methods. With the rise of child-centred education, calls for Sunday Schools to become more holistic and experiential in their practice were widespread.²⁰ Within the calls for change there were clear contradictions. The Unions promoted a learner-led pedagogy whilst publishing standardised curricula. For example, in Birmingham, the Sunday School curriculum was published on a monthly basis and even went as far as to include 'blackboard outlines'.²¹ Later in the century, curricula were increasingly published at national

level. It appears that the teachers were simply not given the freedom to innovate their work.

The most prominent change for Sunday Schools was the strategic move towards a 'family church' model instead of separate Sunday Schools, implemented on a national scale in the 1950s and 60s. The move from Sunday School to 'family church' brought the timings of church services and Sunday Schools together in an attempt to address the issue of young people not becoming church members. The 'family church' proponent, H. A. Hamilton, acknowledged the failings of the churches in attracting young members.²² He suggested that churches should take more ownership of their affiliated Sunday Schools and more interest in the young people involved. The main thrust of his proposals was a mentorship programme for young people. The idea involved church adults 'adopting' individual young people and sitting with them in church, being available for conversation, and visiting them at home.²³ Hamilton also believed that church and Sunday School should be combined with young people attending the start of the main church service before their Sunday School programme.²⁴ He was clear that this did not necessarily mean that Sunday School should fit in with church service times but that the opposite might be more appropriate.

Also present in Hamilton's writing was a reflection of the obsession with the need for better training of teachers.

But can an untrained group of teachers such as must carry the burden of this work in an ordinary church carry through such a programme?... One of our past difficulties has been to convince teachers who were going to use the method of instruction or story-telling and who were provided with lesson-helpers

containing prepared material, that it was essential for them to attend a training class... We have assumed that those who came to us to help in this work were going to be teachers in the more limited sense of talkers. Many of them have a restricted educational background and few of them are easily articulate. They have been set to make plain things that they themselves only grasp with difficulty.²⁵

Hamilton went on to suggest that teachers may have some useful and creative 'giftings' for use in 'family church' but the above assessment of them serves to demonstrate a generally low opinion.

In the merging of Sunday School and church, Sunday School was bound to take a lower priority than church in general did. In most cases the church did not adapt as suggested, Sunday School adapted to church, moving their classes from the afternoons to the mornings to fit with established service times. Cliff acknowledges that where Sunday Schools had previously had both morning and afternoon sessions, the mornings had declined due to lack of attendance by the early twentieth century.²⁶ Thus the imposed move back to morning attendance in the 1960s was somewhat irrational given the preference for afternoon schools. For some churches, 'family church' may have been an opportunity to withdraw from supporting a separate Sunday School or to divert young people from the schools into their congregations.

A case study of teacher criticism in Birmingham

Despite periods of growth and stability in the first half of the twentieth century, concern about declining numbers of members was a regular theme in the publications for Sunday School teachers from the Birmingham Sunday School Union

(BSSU) from the 1900-1910 period onwards. The quality of Sunday School teaching, and rising numbers of 'social evils' and distractions drawing individuals and families away from Christianity, were perceived as the causes of decline. In 1905, it was stated in the *Monthly Record* (the Union's publication for Sunday School teachers) that there was less enthusiasm among teachers than ten years previously and, in February 1909, they printed an article on the subject of teacher enthusiasm.²⁷

As the century progressed, the criticism became more explicit and often combined images and text published in *News* (the new name for the Union's publication for Sunday School teachers). The example below demonstrates the way in which blame for decline was increasingly laid on the teachers, as well as the sporting image subtly implying that other external attractions may have been luring young people from Sunday School and church.

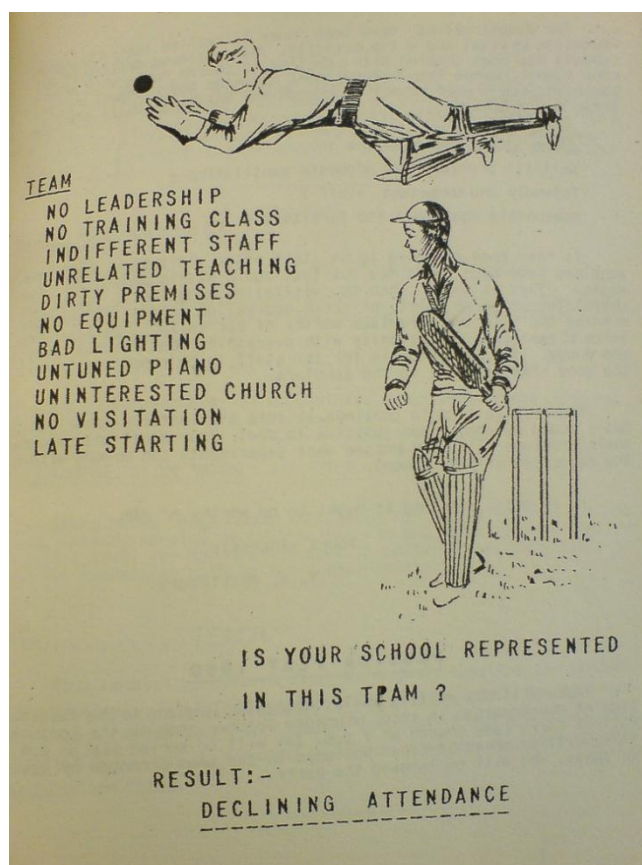


Figure 1 – Image published by BSSU in *News*, May 1958.

An emphasis on the teachers' need for further training ran throughout the twentieth century, a message communicated quite aggressively and condescendingly at times. In Birmingham, concern over the quality of teaching permeated the records of the early 1900s. There were large numbers of teachers' meetings and training sessions each week for which there was great pressure to attend. In 1912, the BSSU questioned the usefulness of the teaching classes for teachers as there was so little support for them from the teachers themselves.

With Birmingham being the home of Westhill College, set up in the early 1900s for the training of Sunday School teachers, there was an emphasis on attendance at training courses there and a suggestion that teacher support was needed to keep the college afloat. There appears to have been both a concern with maintaining the Union's role and facilities but also, increasingly, with the quality of the teachers themselves. The push to engage in a 'sustained residence' at the college in the 1960s, however, may not have been a realistic option for volunteer teachers with family and/or work commitments.²⁸

The criticism of Sunday School teachers in the 1950s and 60s also often focused on how clean they kept their premises. The example below demonstrates the aggression with which this was communicated.

How blind are you?

So often when visiting churches one is struck by the care or lack of care, for the furniture, equipment and the fabrics itself. Yet, if the Queen of England was scheduled to visit your church during one of her

engagements, what trouble would you take to brush and dust and generally tidy the church.

YET -----you expect your scholars to meet the King of Kings every Sunday when they come to your school --- or perhaps you do not.

There is no reason for equating junk, rubbish, dust and dirt with Christianity. Yet, in some churches this is true.

When did you last clear out your cupboards or wash the windows and all the other jobs? Nothing but the best is good enough for the House of God and that does not mean depositing the 'throw out' from your homes.²⁹

Other reasons for criticism centred on the personal and faith lives of the teachers. Several different 'vices' were criticised in the Union's publication to teachers throughout the twentieth century. The *Monthly Record* in February 1907 suggested that teachers who attended the theatre should not be recruited. Similar concerns are echoed in the 1950s and 60s around cinema-going, smoking and gambling, as well as the level of commitment to Christianity held by teachers.³⁰

Gender Issues?

John Orchard asserts that little is known about the women who made up the majority of the Sunday School labour force.³¹ Although the NSSU did not regularly provide a gender breakdown of their teachers, they did for a couple of years in the early twentieth century. In 1907-08, between 48% and 49% of teachers serving NSSU affiliated schools were female.³² This demonstrates that, at the start of the century, there was a reasonably equal distribution of male and female teachers. In an oral

history interview with Rita, who attended Sunday School in the West Midlands in the 1960s, she stated that 'the leaders were more men, the actual teachers, probably predominantly female'. Jim, also from the West Midlands, suggested the majority of his teachers were female. However, it is the men that he could remember by name.

The evidence suggests that women were the majority among the teachers by the 1960s. Yet, in terms of leadership at Union level and possibly within the schools as well, men remained the dominant voice. The Birmingham Union was presided over and represented by men throughout the historical periods of this study.

The vital role being played by women in upholding Sunday School may also explain the rising criticism from the BSSU after the Second World War of women who did not have enough time for training. The issue of women going to work is a regular theme in the 1960s. The extract below is just one of the examples showing that working women were not viewed favourably.

The teachers that care and take time to care, soon reap the reward of their caring.

There are not many hungry or ill clad children in our country to-day, but there are hundreds of unloved and unwanted children. Some near your church!

Mothers who go out to work when their children come home from school, in order to maintain a material standard, do not always realise that they are denying their children the one thing they alone can give – love.

Children can go hungry and ill clad, if they are wanted and loved and still become responsible citizens. This is not an excuse for poverty, but if you deny

a child of its parental affection, you create a social problem which may reach into the third and fourth generation.

A teacher who opens her home to her class during the week may be doing more for the Kingdom than she realises.³³

Though the criticism is directed at the mothers of Sunday School young people, the message that women who go to work will see a negative impact on their children is clearly communicated. The suggestion above appears to be that the Sunday School teacher should take on a pseudo-mother role to the young people affected. The implicit message to the teachers, through the equation of mothers going to work with child neglect, may be that teachers who work are neglecting their calling to love and serve Sunday School children.

Callum Brown asserts that the religious decline of the 1960s was caused by the autonomy of religiously practising women choosing to leave the church.³⁴ It is certainly clear from the archival evidence that the structural gender issues that existed in the church extended to the Sunday School authorities. Arguably, the wider gender struggles of the time were acutely present in religious organisations that relied on female volunteers.

When looking at the records for numbers of teachers and scholars affiliated to the NSSU in the twentieth century, it can be observed that the decline in teachers accelerated as the century progressed, as presented by the calculations below:

Years	% decline – teachers	% decline – scholars
1910-1920	6%	16%
1920-1930	- 5% (5% growth)	- 3% (3% growth)

1930-1937	7%	24%
1937-1950	33%	35%
1950-1960	14%	21%
1960-1970	48%	48%

Table 1 – Percentage decline of teachers and scholars affiliated to the NSSU between 1910 and 1970³⁵

The decline in teachers each decade from 1910 onwards was significantly less than scholars (other than during the Second World War) until the 1960s when they came in line. The fact that the decline in teachers accelerated dramatically in the 1960s could indicate less need for them with fewer scholars, but it is likely that it also reflects the changing roles of women during this time in terms of work and rising autonomy. The attitude that teachers faced from the Unions, in terms of criticism and calls for greater commitment, may have influenced whether and when they ceased to teach as their other commitments grew.

The question of whether female teachers left because they became disillusioned with their Sunday School work remains unanswered by my research because it is difficult to find in the archives the voice of the women whose efforts sustained the Sunday School movement in the twentieth century. What is clear is that they faced much criticism and hostility from their dominantly male institutional authorities. The impact of the Second World War when many women started going to work inspired more fevered criticism and attempted control of teachers. The communication from the BSSU to its schools was aggressively paternalistic. The apparent ‘takeover’ of Sunday Schools by churches under the notion of ‘family church’ may well have had

an intrinsic gender element as male clergy took control of the Sunday Schools, not trusting the religious lives of the young to a female workforce.

From Sunday Schools to Christian Youth Work

The twentieth-century decline of the Sunday Schools left only seven in every hundred young people attending by 1989.³⁶ The 2005 English Church Census reveals that since 1979 the average age of the church-goer increased from 37 to 45.³⁷ Brierley highlights one particular decade, the 1990s, when 500,000 children and young people left the Church.³⁸

A significant response to youth decline in churches has been the rapid increase in full-time professional youth workers employed by churches. Commentators suggest that, by the early twenty-first century, the Church of England employed more full-time youth workers than the state.³⁹ By 2005, around one third of churches had access to a paid youth or children's worker.⁴⁰ However, the 2005 church census revealed that, despite this, some churches have no young people at all in their congregations. Around half of churches were found to have no 11s-14s attending and well over half no 15s-19s.⁴¹

A Church of England publication in 1996 acknowledged that the gap between church culture and youth culture increased significantly in the 1990s despite the growing number of youth workers employed by churches.⁴² This culture gap continues into the twenty-first century, as found by research published by the Church of England in 2005.⁴³ The drive for full-time professional youth workers may be a continuation, even a result, of the twentieth-century obsession with training.

Whilst the Church of England's research clearly states that 'There is... a more worthy consideration to bear in mind than a slightly selfish concern for Church membership',⁴⁴ my research has found that this concern over filling the church with younger members permeates the historical and contemporary periods. The twentieth-century Sunday School teachers, and the twenty-first century youth workers, faced criticism if young people were not 'in church' during the established Sunday services, despite acknowledgement in church publications of the inaptness of these times and structures to young people.⁴⁵

Research findings: Church attitudes to young people, youth workers and youth work

A theme that emerges throughout this study is the attitude towards teachers and leaders, and the degree of importance attributed to their work, by their institutional authorities. Some of the youth workers interviewed in the contemporary study had difficult relationships with their churches and feel similar scrutiny as that faced by Sunday School teachers in the twentieth century.

The youth workers not only identified criticism of their selves but also suggested their churches exhibit negative attitudes towards the young people. Bill, a volunteer for thirty years, reflected on the declining numbers of young people in his congregation. He suggested that when young people did attend in greater numbers, the church were quick to separate them from the adult congregation.

We had a fairly large congregation in them days, and it seemed to me that the youth - it was nice to see the youth - but it was great to get rid of them.

This refers to the dominant model of Sunday School provision since the move to 'family church', with children attending the start of the service and then being taken into separate groups.

Around two thirds of the young people I interviewed who attended church regularly identified some negativity in how they were treated by the wider church. Those that had previously attended regularly and ceased to do so largely blamed how they were treated in adult church. Largely because of the negative experiences many young people face in their churches, the transition to adult membership of church remains as much of an issue in the contemporary fieldwork as it was in the historical research.

Those working as Christians with children and young people today face tensions between being adaptive to the needs of the young and responding to the concerns of their institutional authorities. Young people have the agency to choose to attend Christian activities, and this is a marginal choice among more popular options. Within some churches, themes from the historical case study persist, including, in particular, institutional criticism of youth work and a lack of responsibility taken for forming relationships that sustain engagement. However, some of the youth workers do have positive relationships with their churches and have developed good practice in creating opportunities for integrating young people with church adults.

For some youth workers, membership of church is not the primary measure of their youth activities. Liam, a volunteer, stated that:

What [we] are doing is teaching them Christian values, and making sure they are committed to the faith, so really it doesn't matter about this building. They

can take what they've learned into later life and influence other people. Then our job is done – it's about each individual and what they take away from this.

This clearly causes tensions where youth workers are employed by their churches and attendance by young people in church services is persistently prioritised above any other outcome of youth work.

Conclusion

Sunday Schools began as a lay-led response to social need. By the twentieth century, they were subject to both church and Union authorities. Lesson materials were developed centrally by the Union and distributed. There were financial and administrative obligations to the local and national Unions. From the early twentieth century, debates over Sunday Schooling included discussion of implementing child-centred learning. However, the steady stream of criticism and demands from the Unions and church authorities regarding teachers' training and competence served to undermine the potential for Sunday School teachers to experiment with new ways of learning.

It appears from the historical research, particularly the 1955-72 period, that there was a rejection of teachers by the organisation. The women who volunteered to teach in Sunday Schools in Birmingham in the 1960s were subject to hostility and criticism from the local Union. Scholars have also criticised the lack of vision and commitment of the twentieth-century Sunday School teachers, and emphasised their need for training.⁴⁶ This argument is certainly substantiated in the archives by the Unions' concern with the declining quality of the teachers, and the calls for them to improve their personal and spiritual lives, as well as engage in further training for their role. However, the persistent negativity that teachers faced from their

institutional authorities probably only served to destroy any vision and enthusiasm they may have held when first taking on the role.

Similar institutional barriers exist for Christian youth work today. The key tension is between whether Christian youth work exists to meet church or young people's needs. Youth workers also often face criticism from their churches where their youth work programme does not bring about the desired 'results' for the church. The churches themselves tend to operate within their established, institutional traditions and expect youth workers to bring or maintain young people in these practices which are disconnected from their lived experience of Christianity. When young people's engagement with church breaks down, criticism is levelled at those who have successfully engaged them, rather than the church structures, agendas and attitudes that alienate them.

¹ P. B. Cliff (1986) *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980*, National Christian Education Council, pp.12-14.

² T. W. Laqueur (1976) *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850*, Yale University Press.

³ Cliff.

⁴ Laqueur, p.37.

⁵ Ibid., p.39.

⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

⁷ S. J. D Green (1996) *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisational Experience in Industrial Yorkshire 1870-1920*, Cambridge University Press, p.214.

⁸ Ibid., p. 214.

⁹ E.g. Green, p.222; S. Yeo (1976) *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, Croom Helm, p.66-7; D. W. Bebbington (1989) *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, Unwin Hyman, p.123.

¹⁰ Green, p.218.

¹¹ Ibid., p.225.

¹² S. J. D. Green (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change c.1920-1960*, Cambridge University Press, p.260; M. Griffiths (2009) *One Generation from Extinction: How the church connects with the unchurched child*, Monarch Books, p.57; D. Rosman (2007) 'Sunday Schools and Social Change in the Twentieth Century'. In: ORCHARD, S. & BRIGGS, J. H. Y. (eds.) *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools*, Paternoster, p.150.

¹³ NSSU, Annual Report, 1900.

¹⁴ NSSU, Annual Report, 1907.

¹⁵ NSSU, Annual Report, 1962.

¹⁶ NSSU, Official Statistics, 1966-1974.

¹⁷ H. A. Hamilton (1963) *The Family Church in Principle and Practice*, Surrey, The Religious Education Press, p.14; Yeo, p.314-5.

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- ¹⁸ EHSSU, Minutes, April 1892-April 1906; BSSU, *Monthly Record*, 1905-1908.
- ¹⁹ Green (1996), p.229.
- ²⁰ see J. Sutcliffe (2001) (Ed.) *Tuesday's Child: A Reader for Christian Educators*, Christian Education Publications.
- ²¹ BSSU, *Monthly Record*, 1905-1909.
- ²² Hamilton, p.14.
- ²³ Hamilton, p.26-8.
- ²⁴ Hamilton, p.33-4.
- ²⁵ Hamilton, p.52-3.
- ²⁶ Cliff, p.249.
- ²⁷ BSSU, *Monthly Record*, 1905-1908, 1909-1912.
- ²⁸ BSSU, *News*, August 1963.
- ²⁹ BSSU, *News*, August 1963.
- ³⁰ BSSU/BCCE, *News*, 1954-63; 1964-69.
- ³¹ Orchard, p.xviii.
- ³² NSSU Annual Reports, 1907 and 1908.
- ³³ BSSU, *News*, August 1964.
- ³⁴ C. G. Brown (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain*, Routledge.
- ³⁵ NSSU Annual Reports, 1910-1961; NSSU/NCEC Official Statistics, 1961-1965 and 1966-1974.
- ³⁶ Rosman, p.157.
- ³⁷ P. Brierley (2006) *Pulling out of the Nosedive: A Contemporary Picture of Churchgoing*, Christian Research, p.113.
- ³⁸ Brierley (2006) p.112.
- ³⁹ D. Brierley (2003) *Joined Up: An Introduction to Youthwork and Ministry*, Cumbria, Spring Harvest Publishing/Authentic Lifestyle, p.12; M. Green (2006) *A Journey of Discovery: Spirituality and Spiritual Development in Youth Work*, The National Youth Agency, p.3.
- ⁴⁰ P. Brierley (2006) p.112.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., p.118.
- ⁴² Church of England (1996) *Youth A Part: Young People and the Church*, Church House Publishing.
- ⁴³ S. Savage, S. Collins-Mayo, B. Mayo & G. Cray (2006) *Making Sense of Generation Y: the worldview of 15 - 25 year olds*, London, Church House Publishing.
- ⁴⁴ Church of England (1991) *All God's Children? Children's Evangelism in Crisis*, Church House Publishing, p.12.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p.8-9.
- ⁴⁶ Griffiths, p. 61.